

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 300853 TOSEC 320191

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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DRAFTED BY AF:WBEDMONDSON

APPROVED BY AF:WESCHAUFEELE

S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN

S - MR. PASSAGE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY FLASH

S E C R E T STATE 300853 TOSEC 320191

NODIS

SECRETARY'S PARTY PLEASE PASS FRANK WISNER

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: REPLY TO NKOMO (S/S 7625340)

TO THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR SCHAUFEELE

1. THE PROBLEM. JOSHUA NKOMO HAS ASKED FOR A PERSONAL WRITTEN MESSAGE FROM YOU THAT WOULD RESTATE US INTEREST IN SEEING MAJORITY RULE ACHIEVED, OUR BELIEF THAT THE ORGANIZATION OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WOULD BEGIN THE TRANSFER OF POWER, AND THAT THE AFRICAN PRESENCE IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD BE THE MAJORITY PRESENCE. WE RECOMMEND INSTRUCTIONS TO WISNER FOR AN ORAL RESPONSE.

2. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS. THE REQUEST ORIGINATED AS A RESULT OF CONCERN GENERATED BY MISINTERPRETATION OF YOUR RECENT LETTERS TO THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, ESPECIALLY THAT YOU MIGHT BE BACKING AWAY FROM PHRASES USED IN YOUR LETTERS OF AUGUST 31 AND SEPTEMBER 26 TO KAUNDA AND NYERERE, THE FIRST OF WHICH SPOKE OF "THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IN FAVOR OF A BLACK MAJORITY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 300853 TOSEC 320191

TRANSITION" AND THE SECOND OF WHICH SPOKE OF "WITHDRAWAL

OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IN FAVOR OF A BLACK MAJORITY GOVERNMENT OF TRANSITION" (FULL TEXTS REPEATED SEPTELS).

NKOMO'S ASSISTANT, EDWARD NDHLOVU BROACHED THE SUBJECT INITIALLY SUGGESTING THAT A MEETING BETWEEN YOU AND NKOMO WOULD HELP CLEAR UP ANY MISUNDERSTANDING. HE FELT THE NEED FOR THIS WAS URGENT, AS NKOMO WAS UNDER GREAT PRESSURE AND HAD CONCLUDED WE MIGHT NOT HAVE MEANT WHAT WE SAID TO HIM AND THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS. NKOMO, HOWEVER, AGREED WITH WISNER'S POINT THAT A MEETING WOULD BE ILL ADVISED AND ASKED FOR A LETTER INSTEAD. A LETTER WOULD BE SIMILARLY ILL ADVISED SO WE SUGGEST THAT YOU INSTRUCT REINHARDT AND/OR WISNER TO SEE NKOMO WITH THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS:

3. TALKING POINTS FOR WISNER AND/OR REINHARDT TO USE WITH NKOMO.

A.-- THE SECRETARY HAS ASKED ME TO GIVE YOU HIS GREETINGS AND TO ASSURE YOU THAT THE OBJECTIVES HE SET OUT IN HIS TALKS WITH YOU REMAIN VALID. I HAVE EXPLAINED TO HIM YOUR CONCERN ABOUT REPORTS THAT THE U.S. POSITION MAY HAVE CHANGED. IT HAS NOT.

B.-- IN HIS MESSAGES TO PRESIDENTS KAUNDA AND NYERERE AND HIS TALK WITH MARK CHONA THE SECRETARY HAS FULLY REAFFIRMED HIS DEDICATION TO THE GOAL OF MAJORITY RULE.

C.-- OUR CONCERN, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS THAT PRESSING FOR A FULL TRANSFER OF POWER DURING THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT MAY DELAY THE ACHIEVEMENT OF FULL MAJORITY RULE. FOR, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, SUCCESS IN GENEVA REQUIRES SMITH'S ACQUIESCENCE TO THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSITION, A POINT WHICH OFTEN SEEMS TO BE IGNORED IN GENEVA.

D.-- WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE ORGANIZATION OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WITH A MAJORITY OF AFRICAN MINISTERS, INCLUDING THE PRIME MINISTER. BUT SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT MUST ALSO INCLUDE EFFECTIVE EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION AND ADEQUATE CHECKS AND BALANCES TO PROVIDE THE EUROPEANS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 300853 TOSEC 320191

THE NECESSARY ASSURANCES WHICH WOULD ENABLE THEM TO ACCEPT IT.

E.-- WHILE WE WOULD NOT EXPECT EUROPEAN DOMINATION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OR A EUROPEAN ROLE OF SUCH A NATURE AS TO DELAY THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MAJORITY RULE BEYOND THE STIPULATED DEADLINE, WE DO BELIEVE THAT THE PROPOSALS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WHICH DO NOT TAKE EUROPEAN CON-

CERNS SUFFICIENTLY INTO ACCOUNT WOULD PREVENT THE AGREEMENT WHICH IS NECESSARY IF GENEVA IS TO BE SUCCESSFUL.

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F.-- WE ARE PREPARED TO USE OUR INFLUENCE TO HELP ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT IN GENEVA BUT IT MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT WHAT SMITH HAS ALREADY SOLD HIS PEOPLE AND THE REALIZATION THAT THERE IS A POINT BEYOND WHICH SMITH CANNOT YIELD. WE, FOR INSTANCE, HAVE NO OBJECTION TO BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT BUT, EVEN IF SUCH INVOLVEMENT EMERGES, YOU ARE CERTAINLY AWARE OF HOW HARD A PILL THIS COULD BE FOR SMITH TO SWALLOW.

G.-- THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE OR MODIFICATION IN U.S. SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE WITHIN TWO YEARS. WHAT WE SEE AS THE MAJOR AIM NOW IS THE PRACTICAL MEANS TO ACHIEVE A SMOOTH TRANSITION WHICH WILL ASSURE THE REALIZATION OF THAT OBJECTIVE UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES MOST ADVANTAGEOUS TO AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. WE ARE READY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DISCUSSION OF HOW THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED.

4. RECOMMENDATION

THAT YOU APPROVE THE TALKING POINTS FOR WISNER AND/OR REINHARDT TO USE WITH NKOMO.

APPROVE-----DISAPPROVE-----

PREFER LETTER ANYWAY, BUT TALKING POINTS ARE OK AS THE BASIS FOR SUCH A LETTER-----

OTHER-----

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 300853 TOSEC 320191

5. DRAFTED: AF:WEDMONDSON; CLEARED:S-MR PASSAGE
12/10/76

ROBINSON

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